

- 13 The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.
- 132 The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.
- 137 In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pison and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Elkasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

- 433 The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).
- 313 Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Steber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodford's Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodford's, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

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 (625) had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blinded claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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 825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. (264) Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still

[49] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1890's.

177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
492 ranchmen. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
177 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
492 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.
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177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or
423 Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any
[23] such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be

[313] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser,
[464] buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses
177 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering
222 trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time.
492 The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible
177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo
241 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or
971 wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School,
[492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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154 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.